

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 INR-10 L-03
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 USNATO 03675

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: NATO, US, NAC, PORG

SUBJECT: WASHINGTON NATO SUMMIT: SCHEDULE AND ORGANIZATION

REFS: (A) STATE 91069 (DTG 082051Z APR 78), (B) USNATO
3406 (DTG 044220Z APR 78 NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY: WE PRESENT BELOW OUR COMMENTS ON REF (A) AND
RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS POSED IN IT. WE AGREE THAT THE
SUMMIT SHOULD BE CONSIDERED AN INTEGRATED WHOLE, AND ARE
CONCERNED THAT SHARPLY DIVIDING POLITICAL AND DEFENSE
ISSUES (FOR EXAMPLE, IN TWO CONCLUDING DOCUMENTS) WITH
THE FRENCH POSSIBLY ABSENT THE SECOND DAY, WILL GIVE
IMPRESSION OF LACK OF ALLIANCE COHESIVENESS. THE ALLIES
WILL WANT TO KNOW OUR VIEWS ON A COMMUNIQUE OR OTHER CON-
CLUDING DOCUMENT AND THE ADJOURNMENT OF THE SUMMIT WHEN
WE PRESENT THE OUTLINE IN REFTEL (A); FURTHERMORE, IT IS
OUR VIEWS ON THE ABOVE SUBJECTS WHICH WILL AND SHOULD
DRIVE THE SUMMIT SCENARIO RATHER THAN THE REVERSE. AC-
CORDINGLY, WE REQUEST THE ADDITIONAL GUIDANCE PROMISED
REFTEL (A) FOR OUR INITIAL PRESENTATION. WE PLAN TO RE-
VIEW SUMMIT ARRANGEMENTS IN GENERAL TERMS AT THE APRIL 11
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PERMREPS LUNCH AND IN SOME DETAIL AT THE APRIL 12 NAC.
WE WOULD THEREFORE APPRECIATE SUPPLEMENTARY GUIDANCE, TO
THE EXTENT POSSIBLE, BY OOB APRIL 12. ACTION REQUESTED:
SEE PARAS 3, 5, 6, 7, 8 AND 9. END SUMMARY.

2. FRENCH PARTICIPATION AT FIRST DAY LUNCH. PARA 4 REF
(A) STATES THAT ATTENDANCE AT LUNCH TO BE HOSTED BY PRESI-

DENT ON FIRST DAY IS TO BE RESTRICTED TO HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT PLUS THE SYG. WHAT IS ENVISIONED FOR THE FRENCH, OR ANY OTHER ALLY THAT MIGHT NOT BE ABLE TO SEND A HEAD OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT? (WE HAVE HAD NO FIRM INDICATION HERE THAT FRENCH WILL BE REPRESENTED AT OTHER THAN THE FOREIGN MINISTER LEVEL.) ONE ALTERNATIVE WOULD BE A MORE GENERAL FORMULA FOR ATTENDANCE, I.E., "HEADS OF NATIONAL DELEGATIONS." ON THE OTHER HAND, THIS COULD RESULT IN DE GUIRINGAUD BEING THE ONLY FOREIGN MINISTER PRESENT AND GIVING THE OTHER ALLIES THE IMPRESSION FRANCE IS BEING "REWARDED" FOR GISCARD'S ABSENCE.

3. WE SUGGEST ACCORDINGLY THAT WE NOT SPECIFY NOW THE LEVEL OF ATTENDANCE AT THE LUNCH IN THE HOPE OF ENTICING BARRE IF NOT GISCARD, BUT THAT WASHINGTON CONSIDER EXPANDING THE LUNCH TO INCLUDE FOREIGN MINISTERS IF IT BECOMES CERTAIN THAT DE GUIRINGAUD WILL BE SENIOR FRENCHMAN PRESENT. IN ANY EVENT, WE ANTICIPATE THAT MOST ALLIES WILL PREFER THIS ARRANGEMENT DESPITE FACT THAT THE LUNCHEON BECOMES LARGER AND MORE FORMAL. WE WILL NEED GUIDANCE FOR APRIL 12 NAC, SINCE THIS WILL PROBABLY BE ONE OF THE FIRST QUESTIONS ASKED. ACTION REQUESTED: ADDITIONAL GUIDANCE AND TACTICS FOR HANDLING ATTENDANCE AT FIRST DAY LUNCH. WE WOULD ALSO LIKE TO TELL THE ALLIES MORE PRECISELY WHAT WASHINGTON ENVISIONS FOR SECOND DAY LUNCH, I.E., WHO WILL HOST AND WHO WILL ATTEND. (AGAIN, WE NEED CONFIDENTIAL

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TO KNOW WHETHER IT IS EXPECTED FRENCH WILL BE PRESENT. (SEE PARAS 7-8 BELOW.)

4. GUEST LIST FOR WHITE HOUSE DINNER. (PARA 6 REF A.) WE SEE SIX CATEGORIES OF FOREIGN OFFICIALS (AND THEIR WIVES) WHO WOULD HAVE A CLAIM TO BEING INVITED TO THE WHITE HOUSE DINNER. THESE ARE: HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT PLUS SYG LUNS, FOREIGN MINISTERS, PERMANENT NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL MEMBERS, DEFENSE MINISTERS, SENIOR NATO CIVILIAN AND MILITARY OFFICIALS, AND AMBASSADORS TO WASHINGTON. WITH A VERY FEW EXCEPTIONS, SOME FROM ONE GROUP SHOULD NOT BE INVITED IF OTHERS ARE LEFT OUT. IF ALL SIX CATEGORIES ARE INCLUDED, THE TOTAL WOULD APPROACH 150. UNLESS ARRANGEMENTS ARE MADE TO USE TENT ON WHITE HOUSE LAWN, AS WAS DONE DURING BICENTENNIAL, THIS WOULD PROBABLY NOT LEAVE ROOM FOR ADEQUATE REPRESENTATION FROM THE HILL AND OTHER SEGMENTS OF AMERICAN SOCIETY WHOSE ATTENDANCE IS IMPORTANT TO DEMONSTRATE THE AMERICAN PUBLIC'S SUPPORT FOR THE ALLIANCE. ACCORDINGLY, WE BELIEVE THAT ONE OR TWO CATEGORIES MAY HAVE TO BE TAKEN OFF THE LIST. HAVING IN MIND THE GENERALLY BROAD HOSPITALITY OF OTHER NATO COUNTRIES ON SUCH OCCASIONS, WASHING-

TON SHOULD CONSIDER A LARGE PARALLEL DINNER FOR THOSE DELEGATION MEMBERS NOT INVITED TO THE WHITE HOUSE HOSTED BY A HIGH STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL.

5. PARTICIPATION BY FOREIGN MINISTERS ON SECOND DAY.
(PARA 7 REF A.) WE BELIEVE THERE WILL BE CONSIDERABLE INTEREST ON THE PART OF FOREIGN MINISTERS IN ATTENDING SECOND DAY, PARTICULARLY THE MORNING, IN VIEW OF PROPOSED TENTATIVE AGENDA FOR THAT SESSION. WE BELIEVE THIS INTEREST SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED, IN NATO AND CAPITALS, AND PROPOSE THAT WASHINGTON SEND OUT APPROPRIATE INSTRUCTIONS.

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REQUEST GUIDANCE FOR USE AT APRIL 12 NAC ALLOWING US TO ENCOURAGE ATTENDANCE ON SECOND DAY BY FOREIGN MINISTERS.

6. BRIEFING ON SOVIET MILITARY DEVELOPMENTS. (PARA 7 REF A.) WE BELIEVE THAT MILITARY COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN ZEINER GUNDERSEN WOULD BE APPROPRIATE OFFICIAL TO DO BRIEFING RATHER THAN IMS INTELLIGENCE CHIEF AND PROPOSE IN ADDITION THAT BRIEFING INCLUDE NOT ONLY SOVIET DEVELOPMENTS BUT ALLIANCE RESPONSE AS WELL. WE WOULD SUGGEST, HOWEVER, THAT LENGTHY, SET BRIEFINGS BE AVOIDED TO EXTENT POSSIBLE TO LEAVE MORE TIME TO COMPLETE WHAT WE SUSPECT WILL BE VERY FULL SECOND DAY AGENDA. TO THIS END, WE WOULD PROPOSE CIRCULATING IN ADVANCE AN IMS PAPER ON SOVIET MILITARY DEVELOPMENTS AND THE ALLIANCE RESPONSE, AND HAVE ZEINER GUNDERSEN BRIEFLY SUMMARIZE PAPER AND REINFORCE ITS CONCLUSIONS. THE SAME TECHNIQUE COULD BE USED FOR THE REVIEW OF THE STATUS OF THE LTDP. ACTION REQUESTED: GUIDANCE.

7. APPEARANCE OF DIVIDED SUMMIT. WE RECOGNIZE THAT POLITICAL AND DEFENSE ISSUES AT THIS SUMMIT WILL TO AN EXTENT HAVE TO BE TREATED DISTINCTLY AND DIVIDED BETWEEN THE FIRST AND SECOND DAYS. HOWEVER, AT THE CONCLUSION
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OF THE SUMMIT THESE ISSUES SHOULD BE CONSIDERED AS AN INTEGRATED WHOLE. WE ARE CONCERNED THAT IF, FOR EXAMPLE, THERE ARE TWO CONCLUDING DOCUMENTS AND IF THE FRENCH DO NOT ATTEND THE SECOND DAY (AND THE AGENDA AS PRESENTED REF (A) GIVES THEM LITTLE INCENTIVE TO STAY), THERE WILL BE AN APPEARANCE OF LACK OF ALLIANCE COHESIVENESS.

8. HOW WE ADJOURN THE SUMMIT AND WITH WHAT KIND OF DOCUMENT ARE IMPORTANT QUESTIONS IN THIS REGARD; WASHINGTON HAS NOT ADDRESSED THEM IN REF (A) EXCEPT TO PROMISE FURTHER GUIDANCE THIS WEEK ON STRUCTURE AND CONTENT OF PUBLIC DOCUMENTS. WE WILL NEED SUPPLEMENTAL GUIDANCE TO THAT CONTAINED REF (A) ON THESE QUESTIONS FOR OUR INITIAL PRESENTATION; NOT ONLY WILL ALLIES ASK IMMEDIATELY FOR OUR VIEWS BUT, MORE IMPORTANTLY, THESE FACTORS WILL DRIVE THE OVERALL SCENARIO OF THE SUMMIT AND WE NEED TO GET OUR VIEWS ON THE RECORD QUICKLY. WE OUGHT TO BE ABLE TO DO THIS ON APRIL 12 WHEN WE MAKE OUR INITIAL DETAILED PRESENTATION TO THE NAC.

9. OUR VIEWS ON CONCLUDING THE SUMMIT IN A FASHION TO MAKE IT APPEAR AS AN INTEGRATED WHOLE ARE AS FOLLOWS:

-- THERE SHOULD BE A SINGLE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT (BE IT A COMMUNIQUE OR OTHER KIND OF PAPER), INCORPORATING BOTH THE POLITICAL AND DEFENSE ASPECTS OF THE SUMMIT. THERE IS AMPLE PRECEDENCE FOR THIS.

-- THE TRANSATLANTIC DIALOGUE, IN WHICH THE FRENCH HAVE A CLEAR INTEREST, SHOULD BE PLACED ON THE AGENDA OF THE SECOND DAY (NOT THE FIRST) TO MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE FRENCH TO ARGUE THAT THEY NEED NOT STAY FOR THE
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SECOND DAY. AT DECEMBER 1977 MINISTERIAL, DE GUIRINGAUD SAID FRENCH WOULD RETURN ON SECOND DAY IF NECESSARY. (WE NOTE IN THIS REGARD THAT THE TRANSATLANTIC DIALOGUE AS A SUBJECT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO PLACE, IF THERE WERE

TWO SEPARATE AND CONCLUDING DOCUMENTS ON POLITICAL AND DEFENSE ISSUES. IT DOES NOT FALL NEATLY IN EITHER CATEGORY; WE FLAG THIS CONSIDERATION AS ANOTHER ARGUMENT FOR A SINGLE, CONCLUDING DOCUMENT).

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--THE AGENDA FOR THE SECOND DAY SHOULD BE SHAPED IN SUCH A WAY THAT (A) SET-PIECE BRIEFINGS ARE KEPT TO A MINIMUM PER PARA 6 ABOVE, (B) AMPLE TIME IS PROVIDED FOR DISCUSSION OF GENERAL DEFENSE ISSUES AND THE LTDP, AND (C) IN ORDER TO ENCOURAGE FRENCH PARTICIPATION, TIME IS ALLOTTED ON AFTERNOON OF SECOND DAY FOR DISCUSSION OF TRANSATLANTIC DIALOGUE AS WELL AS FOR CONSIDERATION OF THE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT.

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--WE SHOULD GIVE PROMPT CONSIDERATION TO HOW WE ADJOURN THE SUMMIT SO THAT THE SECOND DAY DOES NOT APPEAR ANTI-CLIMACTIC.

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ACTION REQUESTED: WASHINGTON GUIDANCE ON POINTS MADE IN PARAS 7-9 ABOVE ON CONCLUDING DOCUMENT, AGENDA AND ADJOURNMENT, AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE IN TIME FOR USE AT APRIL 12 NAC.

10. RE PARA 6 ABOVE, USDELMC HAS SAID IT WOULD LIKE TO THINK A BIT MORE ABOUT QUESTION OF WHO WILL PRESENT INTEL BRIEFING. ACCORDINGLY, WE MAY HAVE FURTHER THOUGHTS ON THIS. BENNETT

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